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Mike's Comments on President Kennedy's Speech on Berlin

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Mike's comments on President Kennedy's
speech on Berlin of 7/25/61

Having made that general statement, I wish to say to my friend that we need to face up to the problem of trade. We need to recognize, as I think my able friend will completely agree, that we need a mutually profitable policy of trade relations with our friends abroad. It would be regrettable indeed if we turned our backs on our friends in mutually profitable trade policies.

Mr. JAVITS. I am grateful to my colleague.

Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed for an additional minute, to complete my thoughts.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from New York? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

Mr. JAVITS. In saying what I have said about the British, I did not, of course, in any way exclude the French, with whom we are very friendly and whom the President visited when he visited President de Gaulle, whose problems in Algeria we regard with the greatest of sympathy. I did not exclude the West Germans. The President certainly undertook a massive commitment in every word he said last night in regard to them. That is demonstrably clear.

This is the case of Britain this morning. The British obviously need some help to sustain their part of the job. When we are talking about these great words—I do not call them brave words, for they are great words—let us match these great words with great deeds, not after we become embroiled in trouble, but when we are preparing for it.

Mr. ELLENDER. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. JAVITS. I yield.

Mr. ELLENDER. Do I correctly understand that the distinguished Senator from New York is suggesting this country loan more money to England? Where does he suggest we obtain this additional money?

Mr. JAVITS. The Senator from Louisiana is suggesting that this country should make it possible for Britain to carry a greater share of its defense responsibility, which it is inhibited from doing by money. I say it is cheaper, if necessary, to lend money—and I say that advisedly—than to appropriate it for ourselves, in addition for our own Army, Navy, and Air Force. I say precisely that.

Mr. ELLENDER. Madam President, it was my privilege to visit Western Europe on two occasions last year. I wish to say frankly that I have heard more talk about war here in this country than I did in Western Europe. The people there do not seem to care. They are enjoying tremendous prosperity, and they look to the United States to put up the money to defend them.

I am surprised and disappointed, after all that we have done for the British, that the distinguished Senator from New York should stand on this floor and say that we should help the British more by way of loans. The British have not repaid what they now owe us. I think it is high time that the British, as well as all the other nations of Western

Europe, shoulder more of the burdens to keeping the free world free.

The Senator does not seem to take cognizance of the fact that our great country today owes more money now than the rest of the whole world put together. That is the extent of our national debt. No country is making greater sacrifices for freedom than is the United States. But we should not be asked to do this alone.

If the countries of Western Europe took steps to help themselves not only economically but also with respect to meeting the crisis which is now before us as was described by our great President last night, we would go far toward solving the problem.

Madam President, I wish I were able today to tell the Senate what I learned last summer in Western Europe as to the efforts put forth by our so-called allies.

Unfortunately, our own military personnel in those countries do not tell the whole story. They report that our so-called allies are making a full effort to live up to their NATO obligations. But this is not so. I saw this with my own eyes.

We carried the load during World War I, during World War II, and during the Korean war. We were overburdened, but we carried the load on behalf of the forces of freedom. We paid 94 percent of the cost of the Korean conflict although it was supposed to be a full United Nations operation. Of all the military personnel who died in Korea, outside of the Koreans, 96 percent were Americans. I do not want this to happen again.

Those who are in the most danger today are, in my opinion, putting forth the least effort. I hope the President will take action whereby our so-called allies will make sacrifices similar to those we are called upon to make.

Unfortunately, I fear that as soon as our allies read that we are increasing the strength of our army to 1 million men, that we are also increasing the strength of our Navy and our Air Force, that we will make an expanded expenditure for conventional arms, then they will begin to reduce their own efforts. I fear they will say, "Why should we burden ourselves with increased defense spending? Uncle Sam will take care of us. He has enough money for all of us."

Madam President, we cannot allow this to happen. I, for one, stand ready to support any expenditure of funds for our protection, but I want our allies to share in this burden. This is not only our battle; this is a battle on behalf of the entire free world. I hope that our President will take every step necessary to insure that the United States, and the United States alone, will not be forced to shoulder this heavy burden.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Madam President, I take the liberty of uttering one word of caution. I think in these particularly crucial days we would do well in this Chamber to attempt to bind up any wounds we may have, to attempt to encourage greater cooperation and unity among ourselves and our allies, and be constantly mindful that all sacrifices are not monetary. Some sacrifices are

even greater than money. All nations in the free world which have been engaged in conflict have made great sacrifices.

My hope and plea is that we shall do everything we can to give leadership, in the truest sense of the word—to unite, to strengthen, and to help wherever help is needed.

Mr. BUSH. Madam President, apropos of the remarks of my able friend, the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER] a few moments ago, and also the remarks of the Senator from New York [Mr. JAVITS], preceding those remarks I should like to make the following observation. It is all right to say that our allies in the NATO organization are in greater danger than we, and therefore should do more. It is true that they are in greater danger.

The fact is, however, as we learned in World War I and in World War II, that without the assistance of the United States, with the full force and weight of our strength behind the allied nations, neither of those wars would have been won against what was then the gigantic power on the continent of Europe. So I think that we must face the situation, as President Kennedy did last night, in a spirit of complete partnership and cooperation and do whatever may be necessary to fortify our friends individually and collectively. If doing so involves bolstering the strength of the British pound through extending additional credit to them on a temporary basis, then I think that such action should be considered, and not ruled out because the British already owe us some money.

In other words, my plea is that we are in an exceedingly critical time, a time of the gravest danger, as President Kennedy pointed out last night in an extremely vivid fashion. For that reason we must examine every avenue of assistance that may be open to us to render to our allies, who are in greater danger than ourselves, so to speak, but whose danger is our danger from which we cannot possibly escape.

Mr. JAVITS. Madam President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. BUSH. I am happy to yield.

Mr. JAVITS. I am grateful to the Senator for his remarks, because they put in focus what I had in mind to say. I did not wish to interrupt our colleague, the distinguished Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. The question is one of need. If the need is present, then we must help our allies to supply that need. Or if, as my colleague may feel, in the case of West Germany or France, there is a holding back and there is no real financial need, but merely a holding back for policy or other reasons—short draft terms, for example, which in Germany are only 12 months compared with our 2 years—there is a place where we all, the President, Congress, and everyone else who has influence, can lay emphasis. But where there is a real need, as the Senator, who is a distinguished financier himself, has said, if, for example, there is a sliding pound, and bolstering it would be the way to get the most out of our allies, we would indeed

be shortsighted if we did not try to get that potential realized.

Mr. BUSH. I thank the Senator.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Madam President, last night, President Kennedy addressed the Nation on the Berlin situation and related matters. It was a clear call to duty and responsibility.

He spoke of the needs of defense, with neither panic nor trepidation, with neither brashness or timidity. Rather, he spoke temperately and firmly in terms of a well-reasoned long-range plan for strengthening the Armed Forces for a multiplicity of eventualities.

He set forth the general scope of the sacrifice which this will involve. This sacrifice must be made if we are to maintain the present international position of the United States and freedom. The first installment is in terms of personal sacrifice on the part of the young men and women who will be called to augment the Armed Forces, and in terms of the \$3.5 billions for additional military and civilian defense expenditures which will be paid by the people of the Nation.

These measures, Madam President, and others must be set in motion regardless of immediate development in the international situation. What may ensue in the next few months no one can foretell. Mr. Kennedy is looking squarely at the dangers in the situation and acting prudently with respect to them. But he has not closed any doors to peaceful settlement, through negotiations. The doors are and will remain open to honest, give and take negotiations. It is the highest duty of statesmen of all nations, the deepest responsibility which they have to their own peoples and to humanity to see to it that they remain open.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Madam President, I desire to express my views on the President's message. It was a sober, dispassionate, objective presentation on the problem confronting us. His theme was that to achieve and maintain peace, it is essential that we possess a military strength adequate to cause the Soviet Union to pause and think of the consequences if it precipitates war.

Fleeing our responsibilities as citizens and as a nation, and abandoning our honor and the memory of the patriots, soldiers, and heroes of the past will not lead to peace. Flight will accelerate the coming of the day of violence.

Yielding now will give encouragement to the Communists to precipitate difficulties in other parts of the world and upon our very borders. If we give in now, where do we stop?

While we declare our purpose and belief not to suffer the loss of our rights in Berlin, the people of our country should know and believe it to be a fact that our country will not precipitate violence, but that if it is to come, it will be the consequence of the unalterable purpose of the Soviet. The Russian people should understand that our country wants peace, and that we will strive in every honorable way possible to achieve that peace through negotiation on matters that are negotiably consistent with the security of our country.

The details of the implementation of the President's expanded preparedness

program will have to be studied before I can express an opinion on it.

Madam President, I would also wish to comment on the current discussions with respect to our military leaders.

Madam President, I do not approve of participation by our military leaders in the political arguments taking place between our respective political parties, especially insofar as they partake in it ostensibly in the performance of their duties. However, I cannot approve the increased attacks that are made upon our military men. If I had to plan to advance communism in the world, I would urge the destruction of the confidence of the people of the United States in our military men. When we lose confidence in our military structure, we shall make an advance toward the success of communism that will be unprecedented.

The Communists are probably dropping the seeds, hoping that they will unwittingly be fertilized by our leaders, thus bringing attacks on our whole military structure.

I, for one, do not subscribe to it; and I want the people of my State to know that, in my judgment, I want the military vigorously to bespeak the virtues of our system of government and point out the evils of the Communists.

Tragically, we are frightening the military from speaking about the goodness of our Nation; and I cannot subscribe to it.

COUNTER-OFFENSIVE FOR TRIUMPH OF FREEDOM

Mr. WILEY. Madam President, President Kennedy sounded a trumpet for a national alert and a mustering of strength to defend the cause of freedom in Berlin and elsewhere in the world. The Nation, I am confident, will respond, patriotically.

In my judgment, the President's talk served the following purposes:

First, he warned Khrushchev that we, as a nation would—contrary to Red assumption—act “when the chips were down,” ready, alert, strong, to defend the rights and the cause of freedom.

Second, he alerted our citizens to the great seriousness of the present crisis.

Third, he announced the establishment of a stronger foundation of military strength—a language which the Reds best understand—to cope with the threats not only in Berlin, but around the globe.

From all the evidence, the struggle between East and West will become sharper in the days and years ahead.

This is particularly true in areas where the West stiffens its backbone and tells Khrushchev, “You cannot ‘take over’ this land or people.”

By recent action, too, we have analyzed and corrected the twisted, distorted logic of Soviet policy which charges that any nation resisting Communist efforts to take it over is, itself, an aggressor. In addition, we, with our allies, have clarified that war over Berlin—now at peace—would be “blood on the hands” of the Communists, not the West.

The right of self-determination by a people behind, as well as in front of, the

iron and bamboo curtains fortunately also has now become a “negotiable” issue, one which we can—and should—diligently and relentlessly push.

With a stronger military defense, we must also undertake a stronger counter-offensive in the nonmilitary field—economically, politically, ideologically.

In the struggle, however, we need a new national attitude. Defense, alone, or containment is no longer an effective policy. Rather, we must assume a counteroffensive and not only defend free lands that exist, but contest, with the Communists, for recognition of the rights of self-determination for peoples and lands now within the Red orbit.

This will require a new national spirit and policy, not simply of defending freedom against aggression, but of mobilized, dedicated efforts to go forth to assure the triumph of freedom in the world.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Madam President, the President's speech last night clearly defined the issues between the free world and communism. It was a powerful statement of the American position. I am in full accord with the firm and unequivocal stand that has been taken.

It would be fatal to appease Russia or to recognize Red China. I am convinced that the course outlined by the President is the course we must take. Actually, he proposes preparation for war to avoid a shooting war.

I hope Russia has reached the peak of her power. There are some signs that she may be losing ground. Not one of her satellites is her friend. Thousands upon thousands of East Germans have been fleeing that unhappy country. Red China's difficulties are gradually becoming known.

But these signs must not deter us from the immediate necessity for military strength beyond traditional invincibility. This may cost up to \$50 billion this year. And we must recognize that once military buildup of this magnitude is started it will continue a long time. Ten years of cold war have been predicted by well-informed authorities.

This means huge deficits or huge taxation. The other alternative is reduction of costs in all nonessential areas.

After his notable address last night, the President's attention should be turned immediately to curtailment of all nondefense expenditures—including those recommended since January—which may be desirable but not absolutely necessary.

Our fiscal deterioration is emphasized by the fact that President Eisenhower early in January estimated a surplus for the year which ended June 30. President Kennedy later in January said the deficit would be \$1.5 billion. Actually the deficit was nearly \$4 billion. There will be billions more in deficit spending this year.

Our ability to pay for invincible military power over the long period ahead depends upon the action we take to maintain fiscal solvency. Critical reassessment of what Federal expenditures are essential must go hand in hand with